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helmets of bullhide were worn in battle. Fitz-Roy (1839, 2:147) reports use of a shield of hides sewn together. Fighting was unorganized, of the individualistic pattern, with much use of surprise and ambush.

Captives were taken, especially women and children. There was no torture of prisoners. Cannibalism—avengeful, gastronomic, magical, or other—was absent.

Mercy killing occurred in the form of premature interment, in some cases where hope of recovery had been given up (Sánchez Labrador, 1936, pp. 56–57). The useless were sometimes abandoned when the band had to be on the move (D'Orbigny, 1935–47, 2:190).

ECONOMIC CULTURE

Ownership.—On land tenure, see supra under Political Life. Ownership of personal property by male and female children, from infancy, was distinctly recognized (Musters, 1871, p. 177). Currency was absent. Barter was common, with other Indian groups and with Whites. Barter by exchange of presents, or something very much like it, occurred (Musters, 1871, pp. 155–156, 242–243). The property of a person was usually buried with him or burned at his death, so there was not much, if any, acquisition of property by inheritance. The *Tehuelche* are reported to have been very honest among themselves. The killers of guanacos and ostriches had certain prior rights to specified parts thereof, but game food was customarily shared generously with others.

Labor.—A woman who made a skin mantle for a bachelor might expect some compensation (Musters, 1871, p. 171). Captives sometimes were kept in sort of drudge slavery (Fitz-Roy, 1839, 2:153; Spegazzini, 1884, p. 237).

Men's chief tasks were: Hunting, fighting, breaking and training horses, making saddles, harness, lassos, and pipe bowls, and doing most of the work of silversmithing. Women's chief tasks were: Caring for the children and the toldo, fetching wood and water, cooking and preparing food, caring for the impedimenta on the move, dressing, sewing, and painting skins, making clothing, and weaving fillets.

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth and infancy.—All statements on birth, infancy, and education here refer to the later *Tehuelche*.

Shortly after birth the child was smeared with damp gypsum (Musters, 1871, p. 176). According to Moreno (1879, pp. 445–446), marital abstinence was practiced from conception until about a year after birth. Prichard (1902, p. 92) states that children's heads were

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159 sheep-farm, where he learnt to speak Spanish fluently. When thirteen years old he ran away and rejoined the Tehuelches Indians, with whom he remained in obscurity for some years, until being in the Southern district, near the Chilian colony of Port Famine, he gained the friendship of
● [727] one Santorin, a native of Patagones, who had been taken captive by the Indians, but having adopted their manners and customs, and marrying one of the tribe, had risen to the position of a chief. Together these two performed a voyage to Chili, to negotiate with the Government in some matters regarding the protection of Port Famine from Indian raids. Santorin died during the voyage, but Casimiro was well received at Santiago by the then President, Señor Bulnés,* loaded with honours, and given the rank, pay, and rations of a captain in the army. He then returned to Port Famine, where he resided, off and on, for some time. By his own account, he was absent on a hunting excursion when the *émeute* took place which resulted in the destruction of the colony. The old wandering habits appeared to have taken possession of him, for he subsequently returned to the Rio Negro, and having entered the service of the Buenos Ayrean Government, again proceeded to the South. During this
[797] time he resided occasionally with the missionaries, during their journey to the South, and at their station at Santa Cruz, and entrusted to them his two sons for the purpose of education. The missionaries soon discovered that his objects were purely selfish, and that he had no idea of allowing others to participate in the advantages they could offer; and I am afraid that the labour and cost bestowed on the boys were thrown away, as neither of them appeared to have profited much by their chances. Sam, indeed, could still sing a hymn if there were grog to the fore, and had a lively recollection of material advantages, often saying, 'He was good man, give me gun,' &c. But the youngest 'Graviel,' who also understood a little English, was one of the laziest of the

* Casimiro gave the name as 'Bourne.'

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only sufficient for them to barter their furs and feathers, and for the chiefs at the same time to receive their rations of mares, cattle, ponchos, yerba, tobacco, &c., allowed by the Government of Buenos Ayres. By the time we met them in November they had little to show of the gains of their August visit to Rio Negro except a few mares and gay-coloured ponchos. Hinchel, however, owned two or three head of cattle which were said to have been caught at the head of the Chupat valley, being supposed to be stray cattle belonging to the Welsh settlers. Some of the Indians had still also a little yerba left, and tobacco in plenty; and on the occasion of the welcome many were dressed in coloured ponchos, chiripas, and some in leathern boots. With arms they were passably well provided, guns and revolvers being in proportion of about one to four men. During the time that we were occupied in the ceremony the women of the newly-arrived party busied themselves in pitching their toldos; and shortly after we had returned to our camp, which was a little apart from that of the new comers, and appeared very small and insignificant when contrasted with theirs, the cacique came over, and presented mares, horses, and other gifts to the chiefs of our party; and a grand feast was celebrated in our toldos. Many of the new comers rode over, two or sometimes three mounted on one horse, and would, if not acquainted with the inmates, stop in front of a toldo and look in for a few minutes, then ride on to another, and so on. As these were mostly young men, their real object was probably to reconnoitre the young ladies. One, however, who, though undistinguishable from the Indians in appearance, and who looked like an Araucano, but was really by birth a Spaniard, having been carried off in his childhood from a settlement, brought over a pack of cards, and some of our party were soon deep in a game of siete, at which the stranger being a proficient, soon cleared them out completely.

Next day I paid a visit to Hinchel. He spoke no Spanish,

entirely and could find no pass, it being impossible even for the animals to cross over to the other side, all passages being closed off by snow most of which has frozen solid and is, as it were, petrified. This finding made plausible the assertion which the Indians make to the effect that they have never crossed the mountains here or in any of the other places already named. From the first of the three lakes mentioned there flows a small river which runs into the haven of Santa Cruz; from the second, located to the south of the first, springs the stream which the Indians call Chalia, which flows into the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz; the last and southernmost of the three lakes gives birth to the Rio Grande de Santa Cruz, which flows into the haven of the same name, situated at 50° 12′ of southern latitude. The chief who lives in this district, which comprises the land between Puerto Deseado and the Rio de Santa Cruz [sic], is called Camelo, and we called him Julian. He is one of the chiefs with the largest following in his nation; his lieutenant is a son-in-law of his called Onos, and he lives in the vicinity of the Santa Cruz lakes.

Fifteen leagues from the Santa Cruz river there is another stream, fed by the mountain snows, which runs in that area and turns toward the Straits of Magellan. This stream flows into the cove named Gallegos and is not navigable, reports of other ancient travelers to the contrary. At 52° of southern latitude is the Cabo de las Virgenes, and the Straits of Magellan start there. The mountains come down so close to the very Straits, at its mid point, that even here it is impossible to reach [67] the other side by land. There are here a number of small snow-fed streams, an abundance of firewood and good grasslands which support the infinite number of guanacos that live in the region. The Indian chief who governs these lands is called Coopan. He is one of those having the largest following, but all his people travel on foot, the tents and small belongings being transported by dogs. Only the chief and his women have horses, which are supplied to them by their neighbor Camelo, chief of San Julian. This state of affairs has existed for some years, in fact since Camelo invaded this territory and took away all the horses. Since the invasion it has been his policy to supply chief Coopan and his wives with horses, but no one else, and in this way he is able to keep his southern neighbors under his control. Horseless, they hunt guanacos on foot, and as there are many of these animals they are able to live pretty well in this territory. In Puerto Deseado and in San Julian a good many of these animals also live, yet not as many, and there the Indians can hunt them with greater ease since they have horses; but then again, the Indians here in the more southern part who lack horses are themselves more agile and robust. In

desires he gives his permission, and if not, he orders him to leave his territory and dominions immediately. If the Indian is going as ambassador for his own chief or for some other group of Indians, either to ask permission to pass through the territory or to trade or to pay a call, he is told by the chief the time, the place of entry, the road to be followed in order to continue on their way or the land they are to occupy in order to do their trading. After all of this, the three smoke signals must be made again and once these are answered by the Indians whose territory they wish to enter, they all come; at about one league from the encampment the men come to a halt, the women go forward with the children, put up their tents in the spot which has been assigned to them and, all being in readiness, the men go forward and join the women. No one comes out to receive the newcomers, each group being in sight of the others for quite a long period until the chief or some other of the visitors goes to pay his respects to the host chief, who receives him in his tent in company of his principal lieutenants all of whom gather to welcome the stranger. This call often lasts a whole day since, as each speaks without being interrupted by anyone else, if the visitor brings much news and wishes also to learn all about the things of note in the territory, the speech of each individual present is liable to last two or three hours and even more as they also repeat certain words and phrases many times over. He who is listening, together with all who surround him, pays strict attention to what is said, saying with some frequency "a," "a," which means yes, yes, and with no other word do they interrupt the speaker. At these meetings alliances are made, general feelings of friendliness are exchanged and other contracts, pacts and agreements are concluded, in all of which the chiefs have absolute authority. When the formalities here described are not observed prior to entering the territory or camp of some other group, then the action is considered a sign of bad faith and a general alarm is sounded.

They also declare war on each other often for horse stealing, and as a result the vanquished are deprived of their horses, the young women and children are made captives and the old women together with the ablebodied men are given no quarter, unless they save themselves by escaping from their pursuers. [73]

The chief is under the obligation of protecting and aiding the Indians in his territory when they are in need, and so that chief is most popular and esteemed by his people who best is able to succor them, is most openhanded, and intelligent in the hunt. He who is lacking in these qualities is deserted by his followers in favor of one who possesses them, and is thus left only with his relatives and open to continual